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heavy losses to the propertied classes. Yet the protection of property interests, which it is said those who agitated for the change primarily sought, might have been secured by other forms of government than that adopted. But a less representative form of government stood no chance of being adopted. Why? Because the people regarded political liberty as the most essential of all rights, certainly an absolutely fundamental factor and not to be explained on economic grounds alone. The final explanation for the form of government actually chosen must of course go back to an infinite number of forces working throughout our Colonial history. We have here a statement of one group of these forces so far as they were reflected by the writings and economic connections of the leaders at the period of formation and adoption. It is made plain what the groups of economic interests were and that they must have been of great importance, though the more fundamental economic background of it all is not developed. And the questions, what forces other than the economic were operative, and how important they were as compared with the economic, still remain.

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*The Granger Movement. A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic, and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880.*

By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK. (Vol. XIX of "Harvard Historical Studies.") Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913. 8vo, pp. xi+384. \$2.00 net.

Not a few of the recent volumes relating to agriculture that the revival of interest in that branch of industry has brought forth faithfully reflect in their crudely exploitative character the early type of agriculture in this country. It is especially refreshing, therefore, to delve into this volume of Dr. Buck's, which so well illustrates the merits of intensive cultivation.

In an introductory chapter on "Fundamental Conditions" the author gives a very satisfactory account of the causes of the discontent among farmers which finally came to a head in the "Granger movement" of the seventies. Among the causes thus enumerated are the following: relatively less rapid improvement in the conditions existing among farmers than characterized other classes subsequent to the Civil War, the one-crop system, the abuses associated with railroad transportation, excessive charges by manufacturers and middlemen, the credit system,

excessive taxation, appreciation of a depreciated currency, overproduction in farm crops, and a relative decline in the social status of the tillers of the soil. In the judgment of the reviewer, the author fails to emphasize the fundamentally important part played by the government land policy as the ultimate cause of most of the conditions which he lists, though he does give a certain emphasis to this point. Again, the view that farming had declined from a status of honor in the "early days of the republic" to a condition of disrespect in the period in question must be regarded with doubt by the agricultural historian who recalls the lamentations over the low estate of agriculture in those same "early days" and who is familiar with the constant repetition, decade after decade, of the sentiment that agriculture had declined from a condition of honor at some previous period to a very low estate but was just about to regain its position of honor again.

Chap. ii gives a full account of the origin, rise, culmination, and decline of the Patrons of Husbandry—the period of decline coinciding with the apparent failure of the granger railway legislation and with the probably more real failure of the co-operative activities of the order. Including a chapter treating of the Granger movement as a political force and relating largely to the subject of transportation, four chapters are occupied with this latter subject. The Granger railway legislation in Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin naturally comes in for a large share of attention, while one chapter is occupied with the Granger cases in the Supreme Court. The thorough character of the study is nowhere better illustrated than in these chapters. The very proper conclusion is reached that while the immediate economic effects of the Granger agitation for railroad regulation were small, the indirect results were more important, since it led to the decisions of the Supreme Court which established the right of public control over the railroads and laid the foundation for later legislation.

Though the author modestly disclaims exhaustive treatment in the chapter treating of "Business Co-operation" as a feature of grange activity, it must be admitted that he has succeeded in conveying a very considerable amount of information with reference to this phase of the general subject. However, since the subject of agricultural co-operation is likely to attract increasing attention in the future in the United States, it is to be regretted that less attention was not given to the subject of railway legislation and more to the subject of co-operation. But here spoke the historian rather than the economist. We are told that an "almost incredible number" of co-operative or pseudo-co-operative

enterprises were established; and the aggregate business done by the local agencies during the years 1873-75 is declared to have been enormous and undoubtedly to have effected very considerable savings to the members. The author is of the opinion that if the National Grange had taken up the matter in the beginning and had worked out a comprehensive system of co-operation for the order, as later (1876) it did set forth rules embodying the Rochdale plan, much confusion and disaster might have been avoided. Where the Rochdale plan was followed no small degree of success was actually realized; and it seems a fair deduction from the author's discussion to conclude that if this plan had been adhered to from the first and the co-operators had been willing gradually to broaden their activities rather than to "rush pell-mell into all sorts of business schemes," there might have been a different story to tell than that of the general failure of the co-operative enterprises. At any rate the farmers came to learn their power as well as to gain a more adequate appreciation of the services afforded by the middlemen, while the merchants and manufacturers on their part learned that the farmers were not helpless, and moderated their charges accordingly.

A chapter on the social and educational features of the Grange brings out the fact that these were not only the original features but that they have proved the most permanent features and that the organization has been most permanently successful where these features have been most emphasized.

In estimating the significance of the movement as a whole, the author correctly regards it as something more than a farmers' movement—in short, as part of the manifestation that with the close of the Civil War American history had entered upon a new phase in which the dominant feature has been the struggle of the people to preserve political and economic democracy, which was threatened by the influence of great accumulations and combinations of capital. Assent can also be given to the author's contention that the contemporaneous labor movement was a parallel feature of the same general movement. But when he refers to the disappearance of the frontier as having closed an opportunity previously open to the oppressed and discontented and as thus having contributed materially to the general revolt against corporate wealth, it is clear that the author has made a *faux pas*. Not yet had the disappearance of the frontier, except in a merely formal sense, begun. The author's own statistics as to the expansion of farm area during the period in question constitute his own refutation. It was not restriction of the farming area but a plethora of land with the resulting over-

production that created depression among the farming interests. Neither could disappearance of the frontier have left the laborer at the mercy of the capitalist at this period, since, as a matter of fact, the frontier had not yet disappeared. A really fundamental basis of the disturbance of labor conditions might far better have been emphasized in this connection. This factor relates to the disturbance created by the introduction of revolutionizing economies, in the nature of labor-saving machinery and labor-saving agencies in general. Given time for industry to adjust itself in the form of the development of new activities to satisfy new wants, such economies ultimately result in a higher standard of living and in normal conditions of employment again. But after the wonderful outburst of productive energy associated with and following the Civil War, to which outburst the author himself refers, there ensued what might be called a period of temporary general overproduction, with resulting unemployment, low wages, and derangement of labor conditions in general. The more recent actual disappearance of the frontier has—as might have been anticipated—really benefited the farmer; while it is doubtful if, even at the present, labor has much more than begun to be unfavorably influenced by the disappearance of the frontier. Dr. Buck has, in common with other authorities, antedated the influence of the disappearance of the frontier by almost a generation. With reference to this whole matter it may be said that it is significant that David A. Wells's *Recent Economic Changes* does not appear in the bibliography.

A good index and bibliography and copious footnote references increase the usefulness of this volume, which has many merits and few defects.

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*Industrial and Commercial Geography.* By J. RUSSELL SMITH. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. xi+914. \$3.50.

The aim of this stately volume is, in the words of the author, "to interpret the earth in terms of its usefulness to humanity. Since the primary interest is humanity rather than parts of the earth's surface, the book deals with human activities as affected by the earth, rather than with parts of the earth as they affect human activities."

In spite of this implied limitation of the subject to the effects of physical environment, no such limitation is actually apparent in the treatment, human and economic causes receiving their full share of